

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	From Harold Ickes re: Bi-weekly Democratic National Committee Report (15 pages)	06/28/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 5955

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files July 1-8, 1995 [3]

2019-0774-S

rs3289

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

July 7, 1995

AB -

I came across this file as I was moving piles of stuff from my compact^{old} office into the capacious environs of the Staff Secretary's digs. Which I am just starting to get used to. Anyhow, I think you wanted these back. Hope you're well. Keep Allen out of trouble. Bill

To Elaine K.

↳ Guarantee of the go
↳ output up, cost down, payment cut 1/2-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-6-95

Be

ORIGINAL

Book
went to

Elaine

Plan for the Privatization of the United States Enrichment Corporation

Submitted to:

***The President
and the Congress
of the United States***

June 1995



United States Enrichment Corporation

***Plan for the Privatization
of the United States
Enrichment Corporation***

***Submitted to:
The President
and the Congress
of the United States***

June 1995



UNITED STATES ENRICHMENT CORPORATION

UNITED STATES ENRICHMENT CORPORATION

6903 Rockledge Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20817
Telephone: 301-564-3200
Facsimile: 301-564-3201

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

William J. Rainer, Chairman
Margaret Hornbeck Greene
Kneeland Youngblood, M.D.

*Members of the Board of Directors are appointed
by the President of the United States and confirmed
by the Senate.*

CORPORATE OFFICERS

William H. Timbers, Jr.	President & Chief Executive Officer
George P. Rifakes	Executive Vice President, Operations
Henry Z Shelton, Jr.	Vice President & Chief Financial Officer
Robert J. Moore	Vice President & General Counsel
J. William Bennett	Vice President, Advanced Technology
Evelyn M. Deitering	Vice President, Human Resources & Administration
Richard O. Kingdon	Vice President, Marketing and Sales
Phillip G. Sewell	Vice President, Corporate Development
Charles B. Yulish	Vice President, Corporate Communications

FINANCIAL ADVISORS

Independent Public Accountants	Arthur Andersen LLP
Financial Advisor	J.P. Morgan Securities Inc.
Valuation Consultants	Ernst & Young LLP

Offices: Paducah, KY, Portsmouth, OH, Washington, DC, Livermore, CA, Bethesda, MD

PURPOSE

The United States Enrichment Corporation was created by the Energy Policy Act of 1992 to restructure and operate the Government's uranium enrichment business and prepare it for sale. The purpose of this document is to provide the policy framework for the transfer of USEC to private ownership.

This Plan defines responsibilities and outlines the approach for privatization that will be pursued upon the President's approval and review by Congress. It is based on the best available information. Because actual privatization will not occur before early 1996, and because its precise timing and outcome will depend on many external factors, the schedule and anticipated revenues should be seen as preliminary estimates and may not reflect the actual results of any privatization transaction.

This Plan has been prepared by the United States Enrichment Corporation pursuant to the requirements of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended by the Energy Policy Act of 1992. Nothing contained herein shall be construed, either directly or indirectly, as an offer to sell, or as a solicitation of an offer to purchase, any securities of the Corporation by the Corporation or by any other person.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The USEC Board of Directors has determined that the Corporation is now ready to be privatized, as provided for in the Energy Policy Act of 1992, and it unanimously recommends that USEC:

- Be sold to the private sector.
- Follow a dual-path privatization approach by simultaneously pursuing an initial public offering and negotiated sale, selecting the one that better meets the Act's statutory requirements.
- Have an initial financial structure sufficiently strong to support a viable domestic uranium enrichment business.
- Complete privatization in early 1996.

USEC's timely privatization will provide significant economic return to taxpayers, will maintain a reliable and economical domestic source of uranium enrichment services, and will reduce the size of government.

The Board of Directors, therefore, recommends unanimously that the President approve the Plan and direct USEC, in consultation with the appropriate Federal agencies, to act to fulfill all statutory requirements necessary for implementation of the Plan.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/5/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

19 June 1995

95 JUN 21 P 1:49

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA

FROM: Harold Ickes *UB*

SUBJECT: Colin Powell

*Jonham to
reply
BR*

JIM DORSKIND

FYI - for you
to coordinate
reply, if
necessary

Attached is a copy of a 7 June 1995 letter to me from Lester Hyman, former chair of the Massachusetts Democratic Party, urging that consideration be given to inviting Colin Powell to speak at the Democratic National Convention.

LESTER S. HYMAN
OF COUNSEL

SWIDLER
&
BERLIN
CHARTERED

DIRECT DIAL
(202)424-7509

June 7, 1995

Mr. Harold Ickes
Deputy Chief of Staff
for Policy and Political Affairs
The White House
First Floor, West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold:

As you may recall, we worked together too many years ago on the Muskie campaign in New York. Now, as one of President Clinton's two appointees to the FDR Memorial Commission, I have the pleasure of working closely with the other appointee, Bobbie Handman (who does not believe in the old adage that "behind every successful man stands a surprised mother-in-law").

I write you very briefly with an idea for the 1996 Democratic National Convention.

In my judgment, there is little chance that Colin Powell will actively seek the Republican Presidential nomination. Neither do I think he can be "drafted" for the job. If Dole falters, as I think he will, Newt Gingrich will be the nominee.

Secondly, I do not believe General Powell would agree to serve as the Vice-Presidential nominee on any Republican ticket (a) because he would have no control over policy positions and (b) because I cannot believe he shares the Republican "party line" that calls for cut-offs of foreign aid and refusal to allow the U.S. to participate in UN peacekeeping forces.

Third, while there may be an interest by Powell in heading up a third party, I do not believe that this is a realistic possibility in this day and age.

Accordingly, my suggestion is that a trusted emissary sound out General Powell as to whether he would accept an invitation to address the Democratic National Convention on the subject of America's role in foreign affairs (giving him carte blanche to say what he wishes).

Mr. Harold Ickes
June 7, 1995
Page 2

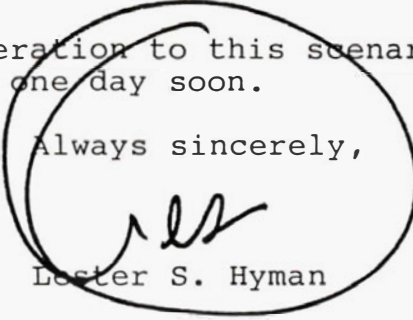
If I were as sophisticated a man as General Powell, I would assume that the issuance of such an invitation meant that I would be seriously considered for Secretary of State when President Clinton wins re-election -- and that if I wanted that job, as I assume General Powell does, it would behoove me to accept the invitation and give a supportive speech.

From our point of view, the very fact that Powell appears at our Convention would give an implicit signal to the American people that Powell looks kindly upon a second Clinton term.

All in all, a win-win situation.

I hope you might give consideration to this scenario. Many thanks, Harold -- hope to see you one day soon.

Always sincerely,


Lester S. Hyman

LSH:lsj:1545.01

Thanks, Harold!

LESTER S. HYMAN
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Lester S. Hyman, a Founding Partner of the prominent Washington, D.C. law firm of Swidler & Berlin, specializes in creating and implementing legislative strategies and in resolving international disputes. His clients include Fortune 500 corporations, as well as countries and major companies abroad.

As a protege of John F. Kennedy, he served with the U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and as Secretary of Commerce and later Chairman of the Democratic Party of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hyman has been an advisor to eight U.S. presidential candidates. Following his participation in the Clinton-Gore campaign, he "vetted" candidates for Vice President, the Supreme Court, and the Cabinet and prepared the latter for Senatorial confirmation hearings.

He currently serves as a member of the Board of the Center for National Policy, one of the country's leading political "think tanks" and is a member of the Advisory Board of the International Legal Studies Program of the Washington College of Law (at the American University). He has taught "Decision-making in Politics" at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In 1990 he was a member of the International Observer Team, headed by former President Jimmy Carter, which monitored the first democratic election in the history of Haiti.

In 1994, the President of the United States, upon the personal recommendation of Hillary Rodham Clinton, appointed Mr. Hyman to the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission.

In 1995 he was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena, California.

He lectures extensively throughout the country and has been described as an informative, entertaining and eloquent public speaker. His biography appears in the current edition of "Who's Who in America." Mr. Hyman has written extensively on U.S. and international issues, with his articles appearing in such publications as "The Los Angeles Times" and "The Boston Globe."

He has a home in the Caribbean (on the island of Tortola) where he is a member of the Board of the British Virgin Islands Community College.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-6-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *Tas*
PHIL CAPLAN *Phil*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent political information items:

- (A) Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various political information items.
- (B) Ickes memo on estimated expenditures of Clinton/Gore '96 Re-elect. Lists estimated receipts (approximately \$14 million including \$5 million of matching funds) and expenditures (approximately \$2.28 million) as of June 30, 1995.
- (C) Ickes memo forwarding bi-weekly DNC report. Harold reports that the DNC expected to raise \$20 million by June 30 and has brought in 140,000 new members since the beginning of 1995. The memo also touches on opposition research, communications and Harold's concerns about personnel at the DNC.
- (D) Ickes memo on United We Stand. Lists the state directors of United We Stand. In light of Perot's "national conference" in Texas in August and the fact that you and the Vice President are not attending, Harold questions the wisdom of inviting these state directors to the White House at this point. He would like to discuss this issue with you.

→ can we get list + write
to them who haven't
already been written
to or have to give

satellite stuff / radio
him is good —

Let's
run

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.6.95

July 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN *Phil Caplan*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We have received the following political information items:

1/1/95
Ickes memo on the DNC's "home page" on the Internet. Last week, the DNC announced the first-ever "home page" for a major political party on the World Wide Web portion of the Internet. The Web is a global interactive multi-media network consisting of thousands of "home pages" or graphically designed Internet sites where users can view and download text, graphics, audio and video files, exchange electronic mail, subscribe to publications and communicate with Democrats across the nation. Many of your speeches and press releases will be available in addition to information on DNC events and publications. The Republican home page is not due out until sometime later this year.

2/2/95
Copy of Ickes note to Laura Hartigan at the re-elect committee. Harold suggests to Laura that, in addition to including the Washington Monthly article in fundraising packets, that she also include Tom Friedman's piece from the New York Times, "Jesse's Right," ridiculing Senator Helms' critical comments about your fitness.

That's not all I had in mind. Can't I see all -
DNC memo on Armev corporate CEO fundraising letter. Forwarded by Harold. The DNC has researched all of the "left" charities listed in the "Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy" study cited by Armev in his letter. Most of the groups are 501(c)(3) foundations and either do not have lists available for rental or exchange or don't even have membership lists. A few groups, like Greenpeace and the Sierra Club, make their lists available for mailing and the DNC will prepare a draft letter to do a test, but in no event would the total number of names for a mailing be high.

DNC memo on telemarketing comments re: Medicare. Forwarded by Harold. According to Faith Brown, head of the DNC's telemarketing operation, donors recently contacted are upset at the Democrats in Congress for not backing your plans for Medicare in the context of balancing the budget. The donors were frustrated that your proposals are stymied by Congressional Democrats. Many commented on how Democrats don't stick together like Republicans.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

26 June 1995

95 JUN 30 P4:51

D

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Harold Ickes *HI*

SUBJECT: United We Stand

Attached is a copy of a 12 June 1995 memorandum from the DNC campaign division to Minyon Moore, et al. which lists the state directors for Ross Perot's organization, United We Stand. About a month ago, we discussed the possibility of inviting some of these people to the White House.

As you know, Mr. Perot has called a "national conference" to be held in Texas during mid-August. Both you and the Vice President have turned down his invitation to attend and speak. It is my understanding, however, a number of high-level Democratic officials, including Senator Dodd, Congressman Gephardt, and others will attend that conference. Given the timing of that conference, I question whether of the state directors for United We Stand should be invited to the White House.

Let's discuss at your convenience.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Minyon Moore
Doug Sosnik
Karen Hancox

FROM: DNC Campaign Division

DATE: June 12, 1995

RE: State Directors -- United We Stand

Alabama -- Bob Belcher	205-871-4816
Alaska -- Connie Smith (and Washington)	509-468-7801
Arizona -- Mary Lou Stanley	602-266-1715
Arkansas -- Bill Dieter	501-945-4750
California -- Michael Church	310-826-5224
Los Angeles: Lois Rozel	310-471-8486
	fax: 310-472-1041
San Francisco: Michael D. Gunn	415-476-4498
Additional Contact: Platt Thompson	310-826-5224
(and Idaho)	
Colorado -- Jim Sitnick	303-295-3007
Connecticut -- Robert Davidson	203-721-8972
Rocky Hill, CT	

Delaware -- Bob Hammond 9 East Lookerman Suite 306 Denver, DE 19901	302-761-9166
Florida -- pending	
Georgia Rob Huges Grace Robinson	404-271 9924
Hawaii -- John Denson (and Oregon)	503-362-5644
Idaho -- Platt Tompson (and California)	208-336-1090
Illinois -- Don Torgerson	708-359-2999
Indiana -- Wade Hamshe	317-579-7597
Iowa -- Jim Henninger	515-224-1250
Kansas Ida Terry	913-599-5454
Kentucky -- John Longmyer Jeanetta Lenczyk	502-893-2897
Louisiana -- Patrick Blanchard	318-255-0202 fax:318-255-0750
Maine -- Eric Cianchette Frank Akers	207-774-4200 207-774-8300
Maryland -- Joan Vinson	410-280 8972
Massachusetts-- pending	
Michigan Susan Esser	810-476-6400
Minnesota -- Mark Kazmareuk	612-929-1372
Mississippi --James V. Smith	601-354-9222
Missouri -- Sandy McClure	417-869-8972 fax:417-881-1593

Montana -- Bob Abbott 406-587-3179
(and Wyoming)

Nebraska Rosalie Shepard 402-393-4772

Nevada -- BT Sisson 702-798-8878
Georgia Klepps
Los Vegas: Bob Tonnelly 702-324-7666
Reno: W.C. Byron Snider

New Hampshire -- Greg Govoni 603-772-1007
603-772-7360 (fax)

New Jersey Norris Clark 908-985-1056

New Mexico -- Chris Baca 505-837-2737

New York -- Jim Bigelow 802-463-4388

North Carolina -- Bob Roingen 704 891-3123

North Dakota -- Daryl Hanson 701-281-9667
Dakota) 701-28South

Ohio -- Sandy Reckseit 614-888-8972

Oklahoma -- No state coordinator

Oregon -- Dave Shaver 503-731-8667
503-692-5090
(also John Denson 503-362-5644)

Pennsylvania -- Ron Goodman 707-731-8667
Camp Hill, PA
(also Kevin Spandler (h) 717 367-0176)

Rhode Island -- Lee Gendreau 401-946-2111
802 Oaklawn Ave fax:401-943-5170
Cranston, RI 02920

South Carolina -- Betty Montgomery

South Dakota -- Daryl Hanson 701-281-9667
(also North Dakota)

Tennessee -- Jerry Bryant 615-365-6769

Texas -- Bill Walker 214-450-8888

Utah -- Clair Geddes 801-943-3654

Vermont -- James Bigelow 800-854-4388
122 W. Minister
Bells Falls, VT

Virginia -- V.B. Corn 804-359-9696

Washington -- Connie Smith 509-468-7801
(and Alaska)

West Virginia -- pending

Wisconsin -- no state coordinator or organization

Wyoming -- Bob Abbott 406-587-3179
(also Montana)

Southwestern Regional Director (12 States):
Dick Toliver 505-837-2737

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Information Items

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7 6 95

Let's see
for the
7/6/95

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) Stern memo summarizing various information items.

(B) Ed Knight memo on Lundy v. Commissioner. Via Ickes. In a nutshell, since the taxpayer failed to file a return claiming a refund until after he had received a notice of deficiency, the Tax Court, following IRS rules, held that he could only collect excess amounts paid within the two years preceding the deficiency notice -- in this case nothing, since his excess payments were made earlier. The Fourth Circuit reversed and said Lundy should be able to collect excess amounts paid within three years. The Circuits are now split and the Supreme Court has granted cert.

Ed notes that the purpose of the two-year rule is to encourage timely filing and the use of IRS administrative procedures rather than the Tax Court; had Lundy used the administrative process rather than filing a Tax Court petition, IRS could have refunded all overpayments.

(C) Rubin note on opposition to H.R. 1362. Bob forwards a copy of his letter to Chairman Leach opposing H.R. 1362 on the grounds that it would gut the Community Reinvestment Act and undermine the soundness of our banking institutions.

(D) Memos from Ambassador Flynn to Ickes. The first memo, dated June 9, reviews (i) U.S.-Vatican relations, focussing on areas of agreement (Haiti, Middle East peace process, humanitarian aid and debt relief, Russian/Eastern Europe) and disagreement (population policy, international social policy, Bosnia, immigration/refugee policy, the use of embargoes against nations like Cuba, Iran, Iraq); and (ii) the views of U.S. Catholics toward Administration policies. Flynn believes there is substantial dissonance between Administration policy and Catholic voters, especially males.

The second memo, dated June 26, rejects the Administration posts suggested by Harold (in a June 5 memo), saying that none would put him in a high-profile enough position to give you the necessary public identification with a visible and prominent Catholic.

Ickes original memo @ TAB D did not come back w/
rest of pkg

Let's see
for the
7/6/95
Ed Knight
Lundy v. Commissioner
Tax Court
Fourth Circuit
Supreme Court
H.R. 1362
Community Reinvestment Act
U.S.-Vatican relations
Haiti
Middle East peace process
humanitarian aid
debt relief
Russian/Eastern Europe
Bosnia
immigration/refugee policy
population policy
international social policy
use of embargoes
Cuba
Iran
Iraq
U.S. Catholics
Administration policies
dissonance
Catholic voters
especially males

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUL 6 P10:38

sent
S

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Secretary Robert Rubin

Fax Number: 6220073

Phone Number: 6221906

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Presidential note "Good"

DATE: 07/06/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 5

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

①
Left for
Haley
AS SEEN
5

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7 6 9 5

✓



SUBJ

Levi

- (A) Water
- (B) Boiling
- (C) Over the
- (D) Hot
- Correct Answer

The second memo, dated June 26, rejects the Administration posts suggested by Harold (in a June 5 memo), saying that none would put him in a high-profile enough position to give you the necessary public identification with a visible and prominent Catholic.



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Mr. President:

7-6-95

Attached is a letter I sent to Chairman Jim Leach explaining our opposition to H.R. 1362, which cripples the CRA and undermines the safety and soundness of our banking institutions. In the letter I explained that if this bill were passed in its present form, I would recommend you veto the bill.

Bob Rubin



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

95 JUL 3 9:58

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

June 29, 1995

Received

The Honorable James A. Leach
Chairman
Committee on Banking and Financial Services
United States House of Representatives
Washington DC 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to you once again to voice the Administration's strong opposition to H.R. 1362. This Administration strongly supports regulatory reform, and has done much in that regard in many areas over the past two years. As you know, the Administration has taken numerous steps to reduce the costs and improve the quality of depository institution regulation.

We remain ready to support responsible legislation. But we cannot support H.R. 1362 as reported by the Committee. The bill would seriously weaken important safeguards for assuring the safety and soundness of FDIC-insured depository institutions, and would eviscerate the Community Reinvestment Act, so critical to the economic life of many urban and rural communities.

Accordingly, if this legislation were presented to the President in its current form, I would recommend that he veto the bill.

We have repeatedly expressed our concerns about this legislation, most recently in my letter of June 20. The full Committee mark-up resolved some of these concerns but exacerbated others, and I regret to say that the bill remains strongly objectionable.

To begin with, the bill would cripple the Community Reinvestment Act -- for example, by prohibiting CRA performance from being considered in the bank application process and by exempting nearly 90 percent of the nation's banks and thrifts from the CRA. These provisions would effectively destroy enforcement of the CRA.

I have seen first-hand how critical the CRA is to revitalizing low- and moderate-income communities. The banking regulators -- the Federal Reserve Board, FDIC,

1022 0073

Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, and Office of Thrift Supervision -- recently completed a two-year, comprehensive overhaul of the CRA regulations that relieves the burden on banks. There is no reason to amend the CRA. We need to give the regulations a chance to work.

Moreover, the bill remains overladen with provisions that undermine the safety and soundness of our nation's depository institutions. To name only a few examples, it would generally exempt outside directors from the federal banking agencies' enforcement authority (and from liability to the FDIC as deposit insurer), and create perverse incentives for directors to ignore potential problems at their institutions. It would permit an institution's management to dominate the audit committee of its board of directors, and thus undermine an important safeguard of bank integrity. It would weaken reforms enacted in the wake of the BCCI scandal, by letting foreign banks enter the United States without their home countries giving them comprehensive consolidated supervision. These and other provisions ignore the grave lessons of the savings and loan debacle and other scandals of the 1980s. They would not serve the interests of the American people.

We remain ready to work with you to produce constructive, responsible legislation that leaves the CRA untouched, upholds safety and soundness, and provides real relief from unnecessary regulatory burdens.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Rubin", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Robert E. Rubin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-6-93

XX
Alvin

(E)

Cisneros memo on Jesse Jackson "Reclaim Our Youth" Crusade. Forwarded by Ickes. Jackson is proposing that the Administration co-sponsor a national effort to bring together parents, children, school officials and community leaders in a series of back-to-school events in the nation's 50 largest cities. Harold would like to discuss this with you.

(F)

HUD memo re Chicago Housing Authority. Bruce Katz wrote Kitty to clarify HUD's role and the length of its expected tenure overseeing the CHA. HUD assumed direct responsibility May 30. Its Assistant Secretary for Public and Indian Housing, Joe Shuldiner, is the Chair of a new five-member Executive Committee that will oversee management of the CHA. HUD anticipates direct involvement of 2-3 months aimed at achieving some quick improvements in living conditions and the level of public confidence in management. HUD also envisions a 6-12 month plan for CHA aimed at privatizing management and administration, making progress in demolition and redevelopment of distressed high-rises, and establishing a new security relationship with the city.

(G)

Greenberg poll on Pacific Northwest.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-6-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1995

95 JUN 30 P4: 51

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA
ALEXIS HERMAN
MAGGIE WILLIAMS
JACK QUINN

FROM: Harold Ickes 
SUBJECT: Jesse Jackson's reclaim our youth crusade

Attached is a self-explanatory 27 June 1995 confidential memorandum to me from Secretary Cisneros urging that various departments provide leadership and financial support for a federal reclaim our youth crusade proposed by Reverend Jackson.

One part of the effort would have "hundreds of thousands" of parents in 50 cities take their children to school on the first day of the new term in September and sign pledges promising to work with their children and teachers.

The second element is to organize working groups from the juvenile justice youth recreation and community leadership of the same 50 cities to take trouble youngsters under their guidance for special counseling and direction.

According to the Secretary, the effort would require some level of federal support from Cabinet agencies to fund overhead and administrative costs. No money would go to the Rainbow Coalition or to Reverend Jackson.

The Secretary stresses that given the magnitude of the proposal, if it is to be successful, it must be gotten under way in very short order. Thus, he requests a decision or direction with respect to his request within the next several days.

Let's discuss.

Harold Ickes



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

June 27, 1995

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: Harold Ickes

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros *Henry Cisneros*

SUBJECT: ReClaim Our Youth Crusade

Rev. Jesse Jackson has requested the Administration's co-sponsorship of a national effort to bring together children, their parents, school officials and community leaders in a series of "back-to-school" convocations in the 50 largest cities. Rev. Jackson's idea is to foster stronger partnerships between the families of school aged children and school officials as part of a national Reclaim Our Youth Crusade.

He is asking for leadership and financial support from various departments, including HUD, Education, HHS and the Office of Drug Policy. His concept of the crusade has the following two elements:

1. An effort to have hundreds of thousands of parents in 50 cities take their children to school on the first day of the new term this September and sign pledges promising to exchange telephone numbers with their childrens' teachers, to pick-up their childrens' report cards each grading period, to review the childrens' homework assignments, and to turn-off television for a three-hour study period each school night. They would also pledge to work to rid schools of guns and drugs.

The idea is to have Administration spokespersons join Rev. Jackson and his associates from the Citizenship Education Fund in a series of regional meetings to brief school superintendents and groups of ministers and civic leaders in preparation for the effort. These briefing meetings would then be followed by events in 50 cities on the opening day of school this year.

2. Rev. Jackson also seeks Administration support in organizing working groups from the juvenile justice, youth recreation and community leadership of the same 50 cities to take troubled youngsters under their guidance

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING Per E.O. 13526

Sec. 3.2(C) Initials: *QB* Date: *7/1/19*

for special counseling and direction. His idea is to ask churches to each adopt a number of troubled youth and provide them intensive adult guidance, training and work preparation. It builds on a successful model he developed in Washington, DC where he has met with juvenile service providers each Thursday morning for more than a year. He wants to duplicate this model of interconnected juvenile services for troubled youth in 50 cities.

These efforts would require some level of Federal support from the Cabinet agencies to fund overhead and administrative costs. No money would go to the Rainbow Coalition or to Rev. Jackson. As important as Federal financial support is, Federal officials in Department field offices can play a role in coordinating the local effort in each city. The presence of cabinet and sub-cabinet officials at the opening day activities in the major cities also presents opportunities for the Administration.

[While this is a large endeavor and on a tight schedule, it is my recommendation that Federal agencies be encouraged to participate. It is appropriate for this Administration to assist in such a youth and educational crusade, but it involves multiple Cabinet agencies. A White House decision to participate is required and a White House role in coordinating it would be essential. It is also my recommendation that the President, Vice President, First Lady and Mrs. Gore participate in key cities. The start of the school year is always a hopeful time and meaningful to the families of school-aged children. To harness that hopefulness in a crusade to ~~W~~age acceptance of responsibility by parents and public agencies is a real opportunity.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Information Items

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
- 695

Let On Leon
for Miller

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) Stern memo summarizing various information items.

(B) Ed Knight memo on Lundy v. Commissioner. Via Ickes. In a nutshell, since the taxpayer failed to file a return claiming a refund until after he had received a notice of deficiency, the Tax Court, following IRS rules, held that he could only collect excess amounts paid within the two years preceding the deficiency notice -- in this case nothing, since his excess payments were made earlier. The Fourth Circuit reversed and said Lundy should be able to collect excess amounts paid within three years. The Circuits are now split and the Supreme Court has granted cert.

Ed notes that the purpose of the two-year rule is to encourage timely filing and the use of IRS administrative procedures rather than the Tax Court; had Lundy used the administrative process rather than filing a Tax Court petition, IRS could have refunded all overpayments.

(C) Rubin note on opposition to H.R. 1362. Bob forwards a copy of his letter to Chairman Leach opposing H.R. 1362 on the grounds that it would gut the Community Reinvestment Act and undermine the soundness of our banking institutions.

(D) Memos from Ambassador Flynn to Ickes. The first memo, dated June 9, reviews (i) U.S.-Vatican relations, focussing on areas of agreement (Haiti, Middle East peace process, humanitarian aid and debt relief, Russian/Eastern Europe) and disagreement (population policy, international social policy, Bosnia, immigration/refugee policy, the use of embargoes against nations like Cuba, Iran, Iraq); and (ii) the views of U.S. Catholics toward Administration policies. Flynn believes there is substantial dissonance between Administration policy and Catholic voters, especially males.

The second memo, dated June 26, rejects the Administration posts suggested by Harold (in a June 5 memo), saying that none would put him in a high-profile enough position to give you the necessary public identification with a visible and prominent Catholic.

*Let
Lundy
Bosnia
Haiti
Middle East
peace
process
humanitarian
aid
debt
relief
Russian/Eastern
Europe
disagreement
population
policy
international
social
policy
Bosnia
immigration/
refugee
policy
the
use
of
embargoes
against
nations
like
Cuba
Iran
Iraq
Flynn
Catholic
dissonance
between
Administration
policy
and
Catholic
voters
especially
males*

TS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-6-95

95 JUN 30 P4: 53

June 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Harold Ickes *HP*

SUBJECT: Lunde v. Commissioner (taxpayer suit for refund of
taxes withheld from wages during 1987)

Attached is a self-explanatory 8 June 1995 memorandum to me from Edward S. Knight, which you requested, which explains the circumstances involved in the taxpayer suit against the IRS Commissioner for a refund of taxes withheld from the taxpayer's wages during 1987.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

GENERAL COUNSEL

June 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR HAROLD ICKES
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

EDWARD S. KNIGHT

Edward S. Knight

SUBJECT:

Lundy v. Commissioner, 45 F.3d 856 (4th Cir. 1995),
cert. granted May 30, 1995

I. Summary

- o On May 30, 1995, the Supreme Court granted a writ of certiorari in the above-referenced case, which involves the rules governing a refund in a Tax Court proceeding.
- o The Solicitor General sought this review in order to resolve a conflict between the Circuits.
- o The rules governing refunds are a product of a complex statutory scheme. Whether a refund is due a taxpayer is also dependent upon the determination of complex factual circumstances.
- o If the conflict in the Circuits created by the Lundy case were not resolved, the rules governing refunds would be needlessly complicated -- even beyond the current statutory complexity.
- o These rules affect a substantial number of taxpayers annually and touch upon important tax administration policies such as: (1) discouraging unnecessary Tax Court litigation; (2) encouraging taxpayers to exhaust administrative remedies before they press claims in the courts; and (3) preserving statutory distinctions between an administrative claim for refund and judicial review of the IRS's response (with the added expenditure of government resources).

II. Factual/Legal Background

The Lundy case involves a claim for refund of taxes withheld from Mr. Lundy's wages during 1987. The taxpayer did not file his 1987 tax return when it was due (April 15, 1988); nor did he file the return within the next two years (by April 15, 1990). On September 26, 1990, the IRS issued a notice of deficiency to Mr. Lundy for 1987. **Only then**, on December 28, 1990, did Mr. Lundy file both his 1987 tax return and a petition in Tax Court to challenge the deficiency notice. It is important to note that if Mr. Lundy, rather than filing a petition with the Tax Court, had simply allowed the administrative process to run on his untimely 1987 return, the

IRS could have concluded that a refund was owing and could have refunded all overpayments under the statutory rules enacted by Congress.

The taxpayer and the IRS ultimately agreed that Mr. Lundy had in fact overpaid his taxes in 1987. The precise issue, because it was within a judicial setting, was the amount of a refund that the Tax Court, as opposed to the IRS, could award.

To determine whether the Tax Court could award a refund one must look to the Internal Revenue Code. A critical factual issue under the current statutory scheme is whether the refund claim had been filed **prior to the date the notice of deficiency was mailed**. If it takes a deficiency notice to generate a refund claim, then only amounts paid within two years of the date on which the deficiency notice was mailed can be refunded by the Tax Court. On the other hand, if the taxpayer files a return claiming a refund prior to the date the notice of deficiency is mailed, then the Tax Court can allow a refund of taxes paid within the three years preceding the date the notice of deficiency was mailed. These rules are designed to encourage the timely filing of tax returns and the use of the IRS administrative processes.

The Tax Court in the Lundy case applied these rules and concluded that it could order a refund only of amounts paid within the two years preceding the date of the mailing of the notice of deficiency. Therefore, no refund was due. This holding is consistent with prior Tax Court decisions and with the position of the Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Circuits.

On appeal, however, the Fourth Circuit reversed and held that amounts paid within the three years preceding the notice of deficiency should be refunded.

III. Conclusion

The rules are no doubt complex in this area of the Internal Revenue Code. Nevertheless, the policies they support are important to the fair administration of the Tax Code and were appropriately applied in this case.

Please let me know if you need further information.¹

cc: Judge Mikva

¹ The facts set out above are fully set forth in the Fourth Circuit's opinion in Lundy. Therefore, disclosure of these facts is consistent with the strictures of I.R.C. §6103 and applicable Treasury Department guidelines governing open cases.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

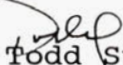
July 6, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached Mikva/Lindsey memo on the securities litigation reform bill outlines four modifications to S. 240 that we unsuccessfully sought: changes in (i) the safe harbor and (ii) proportionate liability sections, and the addition of provisions on (iii) aiding and abetting and (iv) the statute of limitations.

Bruce and Ab recommend a veto threat only with respect to the safe harbor provision. They seek your approval to tell Senator Dodd that you will threaten to veto a bill that fails to adopt the "actual knowledge" standard in the safe harbor provision.

I have sent copies of this memo to Leon, Harold, Erskine and George.


Todd Stern

July 6, 1995

95 JUL 6 P 6 : 30

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM

am *km*
ABNER MIKVA, BRUCE LINDSEY

SUBJECT

Securities Litigation Reform: Conference

H.R. 1058, the House version of securities litigation reform, passed 325-99. S. 240, the Senate version, passed 69-30. While the Senate bill modified several of H.R. 1058's most egregious provisions (including its safe-harbor immunity for all forward-looking statements, its "loser pays" approach, and its too-stringent pleading requirement and definition of recklessness), opponents of the legislation assert that it still goes "too far." At the same time, supporters of the bill, including in particular the high tech community, believe the Senate bill is barely sufficient to meet their concerns about excessive and frivolous litigation. (The Washington Post editorial page today called the Senate bill a "closer call . . . [that] has many merits. . . but it also has substantial defects.")

The Administration supported four changes to S. 240. None of the changes was adopted. The Administration supported modifications to two provisions of S. 240:

Safe Harbor -- S. 240, as reported from the Senate Banking Committee, protected forward-looking statements unless they were "knowingly made with the expectation, purpose and actual intent of misleading investors." The Senate deleted the "expectation" element of this "safe-harbor" standard. We openly supported a Sarbanes amendment to substitute "actual knowledge that it was false or misleading" as the standard, but it was tabled, 50-48. Senator Dodd and three other Democrats voted against the Sarbanes amendment.

Proportionate Liability -- S. 240 limits the liability of reckless defendants to 150 percent of the defendant's proportionate liability in cases where other defendants have gone bankrupt or fled. Our Statement of Administration Policy supported increasing that limit to 200 percent. No amendment increasing the limit was offered. An amendment to restore joint-and-several liability failed, 29-65.

The Administration also recommended the Senate adopt two measures which were not included in S. 240:

Private Aiding and Abetting -- In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court held in Central Bank of Denver that investors do not have a private right of action against persons who

"aid and abet" violations of the 1934 Securities Exchange Act. That decision means that private investors may no longer recover damages against "secondary actors" (investment advisors, attorneys, accountants) if they act behind the scenes and do not themselves make material statements that are relied upon by investors. Our statement supported restoring the private cause of action after a successful SEC action. A Bryan amendment to restore the private cause of action against aiders and abettors failed, 39-60.

Statute of Limitations -- In 1991, the Supreme Court in Lampf held that private actions under Section 10(b) of the 1934 Securities Exchange Act must be filed within one year after discovery of the alleged violation, and no more than three years after the violation occurred. The Senate bill as introduced by Senators Dodd and Domenici included a statute-of-limitations provision that would allow cases to be filed up to five years after a violation occurs, provided they are brought within two years after discovery of the violation. This provision was deleted by the Senate Banking Committee. We supported the five year/two year extension. A Bryan amendment extending the statute of limitations was tabled, 52-41.

Opponents of S. 240 have made much, in the weeks leading up to and during the Senate debate, of the impact the bill would have had on the Charles Keating case. For example, Senator Bryan said on the Senate floor:

Mr. Keating, the primary wrongdoer, was bankrupt. Some \$262 million was recovered as a result of the Keating fraud by private investors. . . . If that action were brought today, because aiding and abetting is no longer a part of the law as a result of the Central Bank case -- I might add, the Court, in deciding that case, said, look, we do not believe that the statute can be construed to apply to aider and abettor liability, but we sure as the devil believe that there ought to be liability. . . . Here are some of the aiders and abettors: Parker Milliken, Kay Sholer, Sidley & Austin, Michael Milken: \$121 million of the \$262 million would be wiped out if that action was filed today. So we are now down to \$141 million. . . . Had the action against Charles Keating been brought today [after the Lampf case], 20 percent of the class claims would have been barred because of the restricted statute of limitations. Another \$28 million in recovery wiped out. . . . As a result of the change we make in the joint and several liability, those who are proportionately liable pay only their share. It is estimated that another \$67 million would be wiped out S. 240 also wipes out the RICO treble damages provision, and another \$30 million.

So if the Keating case were brought today with the state of the law as it exists on this morning as this debate continues . . . , \$262 million of recovery would be reduced to \$16 million.

In our discussions with Senator Dodd, we made it clear that failure to modify the safe-harbor provision to exclude "knowingly false" statements might generate a veto. As you had expressed, however, we indicated that failure to expand the proportionate liability provision would not warrant a veto. Our proposed changes restoring a private cause of action against aiders and abettors or extending the statute of limitations were intended to address recent Supreme Court decisions. Since neither provision is in the bill, a veto would not change current law.

Clearly, our preferred outcome from the conference would be S. 240 with all four modifications. This outcome is unlikely in the case of statute of limitations and aiding and abetting, since neither bill includes the desired provisions and there were recorded Senate votes against adding them. Insisting on these provisions carries a substantial risk that you would, in fact, have to veto the ultimate outcome.

If you intend to threaten a veto over the proportionate liability provision, we should consult with Senator Dodd, who would be surprised by such a threat based on our earlier conversations. (This is especially important since proportionate liability is the item in the bill most important to Senator Dodd.)

A veto threat might generate some movement on the safe harbor. We suggest you authorize us to tell Senator Dodd that you intend to state that you will veto a bill that is presented to you unless it adopts the "actual knowledge" standard (as the Sarbanes amendment would have).

To O'Neil for Bill Be

7-6-95
Clew
-91

27

1 welcome to Cleveland.

2 (Standing ovation.)

3 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

4 HON. BILL CLINTON

5 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Thank you very much. Mary
6 Rose, thank you for that introduction. I loved listening
7 to it, but all the while I knew that the better politician
8 was speaking first. It is a great honor for us to be in
9 your district and to be in Mayor White's city.

10 I want to again welcome all of you to this
11 convention. The Democratic Leadership Council has had a
12 very good year, but in a real sense, we are just
13 beginning, for it is here with you that we are being given
14 the chance to shape a new message for the Democratic
15 Party, and to chart a new course for our country.

16 I have read, and you have read, all the people
17 who say that the Democratic Party is dead. I read the New
18 Republic with the cover, Democratic Coma.

19 Well, I want you to know that I respectfully
20 disagree. Our DLC has over 600 Federal, State, and local
21 elected officials, people who are brimming with ideas and
22 energy, people who are out there on the firing line every
23 day, actually solving problems, and somehow getting the
24 electoral support they need to go forward.

25 I disagree because, even though our President is

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1 very, very popular, and we all pray for his speedy
2 recovery, all is not well in America. We should all be
3 justly proud of our magnificent victory in the Gulf, and
4 we can honestly say that only America, of all the
5 countries in the world, could have put together the
6 political and military coalitions that made it possible.

7 So in that sense we are still the world's number
8 one country. But if you look at the whole picture, it is
9 very different, for today, as we begin another work week
10 in America, 18 other nations will do a better job than we
11 do of the simple task of bringing babies into the world
12 alive.

13 And a dozen will do a better job of preparing
14 their children to perform on international tests in
15 science and math that are so critical to our future.

16 At least 10 will send their working men and
17 women out to their jobs with better reading skills that
18 are so necessary to compete in a world where what you can
19 earn depends largely on what you can learn.

20 Of all the major countries in the world, we will
21 be the only one that sends our working men and women to
22 their jobs today with the gnawing insecurity that millions
23 of them feel still that, if they get sick or their
24 children get sick, they do not know how they will pay the
25 bills, or whether they will get the care.

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1 Of all the major industrial countries in the
2 world, we are the only country that has no system for
3 moving the kids who do not want to go to college into good
4 jobs with high wages and a good future instead of dead-
5 end jobs.

6 Regrettably, last year we did become number one
7 in another category: we passed the Soviet Union and South
8 Africa, and now we are the number one nation in the world
9 in the percentage of our people we put in prison.

10 Our competitors for the future are Germany and
11 Japan. Last year they had productivity growth rates three
12 and four times ours, because they educate their people
13 better; they invest more in their future, and they
14 organize their economies for global competition, and we do
15 not.

16 These are facts that we have to face, but for
17 more than a decade we have lived in a fantasy world in
18 which it was bad form and terrible politics to admit that
19 we had problems of this magnitude, and it was certainly
20 out of the question for anyone in national political
21 leadership to assume personal responsibility for doing
22 something about them.

23 I hope that the number one consequence of our
24 victory in the Persian Gulf, is that at long last we will
25 have the national self-confidence to face up to our real

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1 problems here at home, for they are the national security
2 issues of the future.

3 More important than the future of the Democratic
4 Party, which is what is preoccupying so much of the press
5 coverage, is the future of America. If these conditions
6 continue, can we preserve America's leadership in the
7 world we have done so much to make? Can we keep the
8 American dream alive here at home? I joined the DLC to
9 help find answers to these questions.

10 The 1980's glorified the pursuit of greed and
11 self-interest, and we saw the explosion in the number of
12 poor women and their little children. In the 1980's our
13 competitive position eroded, but the CEO's of this country
14 gave themselves pay raises that were four times as much as
15 they gave their employees and three times as much as their
16 corporate profits increased.

17 Middle income families' earnings declined for
18 the first time in our memory, and not because we are a
19 lazy people. Working class families put in more hours at
20 work and less time with their children in 1989 than they
21 did in 1979.

22 (Applause.)

23 GOVERNOR CLINTON: And it is not because we are
24 overpaid. German factory workers on the average make over
25 20 percent more than their American counterparts. You may

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1 say, well if all these things are out there, why in the
2 wide world haven't the Democrats been able to take
3 advantage of these conditions?

4 I'll tell you why: because too many of the
5 people that used to vote for us, the very burdened middle
6 class we are talking about, have not trusted us in
7 national elections to defend our national interests
8 abroad, to put their values into our social policy at
9 home, or to take their tax money and spend it with
10 discipline.

11 We have got to turn these perceptions around, or
12 we cannot continue as a national party. But that is not
13 the most important issue. [The most important thing is
14 that this United States of America needs at least one
15 political party that is not afraid to tell the people the
16 truth and address the real needs of real human beings.]

17 (Applause.)

18 GOVERNOR CLINTON: We need one political party
19 that does not want to be the hunter or the hunted on those
20 30-second negative ads that have turned so many people
21 off.

22 (Applause.)

23 GOVERNOR CLINTON: I applaud the changes of the
24 Democratic national party in the last couple of years
25 under the leadership of Ron Brown. He has made a real

1 effort to reach out to the middle class.

2 (Applause.)

3 GOVERNOR CLINTON: He has made a real effort to
4 unify all of our party, to talk to all of its people, with
5 all of their different views, and to help people like me
6 and our Members of Congress to get elected, often in very
7 tough circumstances, and we have held up pretty well. But
8 if we want to be a national party, we have a lot more to
9 do.

10 We have got to have a message that touches
11 everybody, that makes sense to everybody, that goes beyond
12 the stale orthodoxies of left and right, one that
13 resonates with the real concerns of ordinary Americans,
14 with their hopes and their fears. That is what we are
15 here in Cleveland to do.

16 The Republican burden is their record of denial,
17 evasion, and neglect. But our burden is to give the
18 people a new choice, rooted in old values, a new choice
19 that is simple, that offers opportunity, demands
20 responsibility, gives citizens more say, provides them
21 responsive government -- all because we recognize that we
22 are a community, we are all in this together, and we are
23 going up or down together.

24 Opportunity for all means first and foremost a
25 commitment to economic growth. To do it we have to expand

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1 world trade, but we ought to demand that when we expand
2 it, our workers get treated fairly and the global
3 environment is enhanced, not torn apart.

4 Opportunity for all means more investment in
5 emerging technologies, and more incentives to invest by
6 U.S. companies in their own country.

7 Opportunity for all means, more than anything
8 else, world-class skills, for people who live here while
9 money and management may fly away.

10 Opportunity for all also means that the
11 government ought to help the middle class as well as the
12 poor when they need it. That is why we favored increases
13 in the earned income tax credits for hard-pressed working
14 Americans who are overtaxed, largely because of the \$65
15 billion surplus in the regressive Social Security tax.

16 That is why we favor preschool for all children,
17 as an opportunity for all children, as an opportunity, not
18 a mandate. That is why we favor a national system of
19 apprenticeships for noncollege-bound young people, and
20 national service so that everybody who wants to can get
21 the money to go to college, if they will in turn give
22 something back to their country, as teachers or police
23 officers.

24 (Applause.)

25 GOVERNOR CLINTON: But opportunity for all is

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1 not enough, for if you give opportunity without insisting
2 on responsibility, much of the money can be wasted, and
3 the country's strength can still be sapped. So we favor
4 responsibility for all. That is the idea behind national
5 service. It is the idea behind welfare reform, and we
6 urge every State to vigorously pursue it.

7 We should invest more money in people on welfare
8 to give them the skills they need to succeed, and to help
9 them with child care and with medical care for their
10 children, but we should demand that everybody who can go
11 to work do it, for work is the best social program this
12 country has ever devised.

13 (Applause.)

14 GOVERNOR CLINTON: The Democrats should be the
15 party which demands the toughest possible child support
16 enforcement. Forty percent, 40 percent of our welfare
17 dollars would not have to come out of the taxpayers' hides
18 if the men who owe child support and can pay it did it.

19 (Applause.)

20 GOVERNOR CLINTON: There is an idea abroad in
21 the land that if you abandon your children the government
22 will raise them. Well, I will tell you something. For 11
23 years now I have been providing budgets for the division
24 of children and family services, for maternal and child
25 health, for every conceivable program. I have done

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1 everything I could to get more money, but I will let you
2 in on a secret -- governments do not raise children,
3 people do, and it is time they were asked to assume their
4 responsibilities and forced to do it if they refuse.

5 (Applause.)

6 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Responsibility for all means
7 that students ought not to get or keep their drivers
8 license unless they stay in school, and parents ought to
9 have to keep them in school and ought to show up at school
10 if the kids are in trouble. It means there is something
11 for everybody to do; and that we as Democrats recognize
12 that we cannot move forward without investing more money
13 in our future. But we can invest all the money in the
14 world, and if people will not do right, it will not do
15 what it is supposed to do.

16 So the Democrats should be for responsibility.
17 for all. And I believe we should be for more choices.
18 Choice is not a code word for elitism or racism. We are
19 living in a world, after all, when all of us want 50 or 60
20 channels on cable television, when people in Eastern
21 Europe tore down the Berlin wall because they got sick and
22 tired of some government monopoly telling them what to do
23 and how to live, and they knew it did not work.

24 In the information age, monopoly decisions
25 handed down on high by government bureaucracies are not

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1 always the best way to go. With appropriate protections
2 against discrimination based on race or income, we can
3 provide our people more choices: child care vouchers,
4 public school choice options, job training programs,
5 choices for the elderly who used to be required, when they
6 got a little frail, in order to get government money, to
7 go to nursing homes, to let them have more choices, to
8 stay independent and to stay at home.

9 (Applause.)

10 GOVERNOR CLINTON: We believe in the obligation
11 of Democrats who believe in government to reinvent
12 government, to make it work. We believe that we should
13 follow the successes of our greatest corporations in
14 eliminating middle levels of bureaucracy, pushing
15 decisions down to the lowest possible level, empowering
16 people, increasing accountability, and treating our
17 citizens like they were our customers and our bosses --
18 because they are.

19 (Applause.)

20 GOVERNOR CLINTON: That is why we favor tenant
21 management of housing projects, and giving principals and
22 teachers more say in how schools are run, and neighborhood
23 policing, where the same police ride the streets or walk
24 the blocks day in and day out and know their neighbors and
25 treat them like partners in the fight for safe streets.

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1 We believe we ought to have a Federal budget
2 which spends more money on the future and less on the
3 present and the past, a Federal budget which ties current
4 increases in consumption to the money the American people
5 can afford to pay because of how much their own income
6 increases.

7 And finally, let me say again, we believe in
8 community, in repairing a torn fabric of our country at
9 its most fragile point, the millions and millions of
10 children who are being robbed of their childhoods, because
11 we really are all in this together. This is a new choice
12 Democrats can ride to victory on: opportunity,
13 responsibility, choice, a government that works, a belief
14 in community.

15 Now our new choice plainly rejects the old
16 categories and false alternatives they impose. Is what I
17 just said to you liberal or conservative? The truth is,
18 it is both, and it is different. It rejects the
19 Republicans' attacks and the Democrats' previous
20 unwillingness to consider new alternatives.

21 Let us just take two examples. Take this fight
22 about civil rights. The Republicans have set it up so
23 that, if you are for the civil rights bill, you have got
24 to be for quotas, so that if you are not for quotas we
25 have to say you are for discrimination. It is a bogus

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1 debate. And the White House ought to be ashamed of itself
2 for breaking up the honest --

3 (Applause.)

4 GOVERNOR CLINTON: -- for breaking up the honest
5 attempt of the Business Roundtable and the civil rights
6 groups in this country to have a new choice, where you can
7 have economic growth, small business vitality, you do not
8 wake up every day being scared to death of a lawsuit, but
9 we protect women and minorities and people who deserve it
10 from unfair discrimination on the job, which we all know
11 still exists in this country.

12 (Applause.)

13 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Take the debate about poor
14 children. The way the Republicans set the debate up, they
15 say, well the Democrats are for throwing more money at
16 these problems, and we know you cannot throw money at
17 them. We just said that, and we are for family values.

18 Well, let me tell you something. Family values
19 will not feed a hungry child, but you cannot raise that
20 hungry child very well without them. We need both.

21 When I was a little boy, I was raised by my
22 grandparents, with a lot of help from my great-
23 grandparents. My great-grandparents lived out in the
24 country in about a two-room shack up on stilts. The best
25 room on the place was the storm cellar, which was a hole

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1 in the ground, where I used to spend the night with a coal
2 oil lantern and snakes. And they got government
3 commodities -- that is what we called it back then -- help
4 from the government.

5 They did a heck of a job with what they had. (My
6 granddaddy ran a country store in a black neighborhood in
7 a little town called Hope, Arkansas,) and there were no
8 food stamps, so when his black customers, who worked hard
9 for a living, came in with no money, he gave them food
10 anyway and just made a note of it. (He knew that he was
11 part of a community. They believed in family values.
12 They believed in personal responsibility. But they also
13 believed that the government had an obligation to help
14 people who were doing the best they can.)

15 And we made it. If you contrast that to the
16 situation that exists in so much of America today, it is
17 truly shocking. My wife and I were in Los Angeles a year
18 and a half ago, in south-central L.A. in one of the drug-
19 dominated areas, and we spent an hour and a half with a
20 dozen sixth-graders, most of whom had never met their
21 grandparents, could only imagine what a great grandparent
22 was, and one of them even told me he thought he may have
23 to turn his own parents in for drug abuse.

24 And do you know what those kids were worried
25 about? They were worried first about getting shot going

1 to and from school, and second, they were most worried
2 that when they turned 13 they would have to join a gang
3 and do crack or they would get the living daylights beat
4 out of them.

5 Now let me tell you something, friends. Those
6 people do not care about the rhetoric of left and right
7 and liberal and conservative and who is up and who is down
8 and how we are positioned. They are real people, they
9 have real problems, and they are crying desperately for
10 someone who believes the purpose of government is to solve
11 their problems and make progress, instead of posturing
12 around and waiting for the next election.

13 (Applause.)

14 GOVERNOR CLINTON: And there are people like
15 them all over America: A working man at home who asked me
16 in the election, he said, Governor I believe in your
17 education program, and I support raising taxes to pay for
18 it, but I am doing the best I can. When will I ever do
19 better?

20 A widow with four children I met in the cafe who
21 said, I know I could go on welfare and get medical.
22 coverage for my kids, but I think it is immoral if I can
23 work, so I come here and work every day. But what am I
24 going to do if my children get sick?

25 Those people do not care about the idle rhetoric

1 that has paralyzed American politics. They want a new
2 choice, and they deserve a new choice, and we ought to
3 give it to them.

4 Do you really believe that if we permit these
5 conditions to go on for 10 or 20 or 30 years, and we
6 permit national politics to continue in its present
7 irrelevant track for 10 or 20 or 30 years, that America
8 will lead the world we have made, that you can keep the
9 American Dream alive for the next generation of Americans?

10 I want my child to grow up in the America I did;
11 I do not want her to be part of the first generation of
12 Americans to do worse than their parents did. I do not
13 want her to be a part of a country that is coming apart
14 instead of coming together..

15 Over 25 years ago, I had a professor of western
16 civilization who told me our country was the greatest
17 country in human history because our people had always
18 believed in two simple things. One is that the present
19 does not have to be as good as the future. The future can
20 always be better. And two, that every one of us has a
21 personal, moral responsibility to make it so. That is
22 what the new choice is all about. That is what we are
23 here in Cleveland to do.

24 We are not here to save the Democratic Party.
25 We are here to save the United States of America.

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1 Thank you very much, and God bless you.

2 (Standing ovation.)

3 MAKING AMERICA THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY AGAIN:

4 STORIES FROM THE NEW POLITICS

5 INTRODUCTION OF DOUG ROSS

6 SHELBY SOLOMON

7 MR. SOLOMON: Good morning. Talk about a tough
8 act to follow. That's why I'm a member of the DLC,
9 statements like that one. My name is Shelby Solomon, and
10 I am pleased to be serving as the chairman of the Michigan
11 DLC. And I am pleased to have the opportunity this
12 morning to introduce our next speaker.

13 If you don't know Doug Ross, who will moderate
14 our panel on new politics in America, you probably will
15 soon get to know him. He's someone who I had the pleasure
16 to serve with as a member of Governor Jim Blanchard's
17 cabinet in Michigan for the past 4 years. And Doug has
18 proven that he can work on the front lines to bring
19 business and government together to deliver innovative
20 policies for the future.

21 In his 5 years as director of the Michigan
22 Department of Commerce under Governor Blanchard, Doug Ross
23 played a key role in shaping some of the most innovative
24 economic development and human investment programs and
25 initiatives in the country. Programs like the Michigan

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-6-95

July 5, 1995

MR. ~~PRESIDENT~~:

Carol Rasco thought you might like to see this letter from Sheldon Hackney, if you haven't already, as additional background for your speech tomorrow. Don Baer agreed.

Todd Stern

give ~~the~~ copy of this
to Don Baer
Alexi Hume



95 JUL 5 8:53

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

THE CHAIRMAN

June 29, 1995

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I write with some more unrequested advice but also to express my enthusiasm for the initiative you are undertaking to lead a civic renewal movement in the United States. The country is ready for such a presidential challenge, and I think it fits perfectly with your continuing invocation of traditional and powerful American beliefs about responsibility, opportunity, fairness, and the American dream.

Kitty Higgins asked me to provide suggestions to the group working on this small campaign. I have done that, and I have told Bill Galston that I am willing to help in the drafting and planning tasks. Because this is such a large opportunity for you and the nation, and because it is so closely connected to my major project here at the NEH (A National Conversation About American Pluralism and Identity), I thought I would send you directly a few of my strongly-held beliefs about how to give your initiative maximum impact. I will do that as briefly as I can.

Os Guinness writes in The American Hour that "There is no common vision of the common good." You have to provide that in your initial speech on this subject. That is a very tough assignment and is going to need a lot of careful thought.

The "vision" that the initial speech sets forth must be completely consistent with the position that you are going to stake out on affirmative action. This ~~speech ought not to deal directly with affirmative action~~, but there will be implications that ought to be thought through. (On affirmative action itself, I would urge a ringing endorsement of affirmative action properly understood, which is that it is meant to ensure equal opportunity for all Americans and to prevent discrimination -- special

preferences should be used only when there is a judicial determination of patterns of discrimination that can only be corrected through such measures. Our society needs to be completely inclusive but not homogenized.)

Your campaign should be about the revitalization of citizenship, a call to Americans to come back into the public square to work with other Americans to solve common problems, a challenge to renew the sort of "civil society" that Tocqueville noticed as a distinguishing feature of our democracy. Though you should not use the academic vocabulary of the currently hot topic of "civil society," you have to find a way of talking about our search for common ground for common action for the common good.

Your message should be that citizens need to be responsible not only for themselves (though that in itself would be a gain), but they need to be responsible for their community and for their nation. This is an important and not so subtle distinction. Republicans are good at arguing that all of our troubles would go away if every citizen took care of himself. The Democratic view is that the sum of individual self interests does not amount to the good society. There is a community life that we all need that is not nurtured if we all simply look after ourselves and our families. There is a community interest and a community story that is more than, and different from, the sum of individual interests and personal stories.

Your initial speech might give some examples worthy of emulation, examples of citizens in action in pursuit of the common good. These must be carefully chosen. They should not be either traditional charity (e.g. feeding the homeless, sheltering battered women, volunteering at the local hospital, etc.) or traditional advocacy (NAACP, La Raza, ACT UP, Sierra Club, etc.), as useful and good as those things might be. They should be examples of citizens coming together from different parts of the community to work together to solve some commonly recognized community problem. This is about common ground and joint action; it is neither about advancing the interests of a particular disadvantaged group nor about benevolence.

I understand that you plan a long series of events and occasions following on the initial speech that would be designed to highlight positive projects and enlist different elements of society in the renewal effort. That seems just right. Visits to, and participation in, appropriate "movement" activities should be governed by the same rule of selection as stated in the previous paragraph: finding common ground for common action for the common good.

Page Three
William Jefferson Clinton

There is a nascent civic renewal movement that I have discovered in my planning efforts for the NEH "Conversation." It is real. It is widespread. It has not yet come to general public notice. Your campaign will recast it as a movement, energize it, and give it visibility. By putting yourself at the head of it, you benefit the movement, of course, but you also help to communicate to the public what you stand for. Even though it is not widely recognized, there is a lot going on that you can use and build on. The existence of so many national efforts of such high quality is also evidence that the public is ready to respond to your leadership in this area. I have a long list of civic renewal projects that I have happened across, and I will pass it along to whatever group is going to plan your "campaign."

Yours is really a call to citizens to rededicate themselves to American democracy. With the collapse of communism, large parts of the world are struggling to build democracy where authoritarianism existed only a short time ago. They see the United States as a model. Here at home, just when our example, "the last best hope on earth" as Lincoln termed it, is desperately needed by the world, we find signs of cynicism and withdrawal (e.g. voting participation at a low ebb, government viewed with suspicion, etc.). We need a rededication to democracy. The time is right.

I have forgotten what precise title was being used for this campaign. It was not bad at all, and the title is not the most important thing. Nevertheless, I think it would be good to stay away from the word "renewal" for several reasons, one of which is that the Speaker's book on Republican doctrine is titled, "Renewing America." I like the idea of "rededication to democracy." It has the additional advantage of avoiding the word "community" which has several meanings and is overused.

This effort has the potential to be extremely important. I would be glad to read and comment upon drafts of your initial speech. Given the fact that I now know a large number of the people who are actively involved in this area, I am willing to help in any way in designing the substance of the campaign. I would like even more to talk directly to you about the possibilities and the pitfalls. I think I can help.

With great respect,



Sheldon Hackney

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-6-95

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
CA	William	Blinn	The Caucus for Producers, Writers & Directors
	Amos	Brown	Third Baptist Church
DC	Bill	Albers	
	Jane	Alexander	National Endowment for the Arts
	Michael	Andrews	Solomon Brothers
	Beryl Lewis	Anthony Anthony	Metropolitan Wesley AME Zion
	Akiva	Armon	
	John	Avlon	
	Laura	Barrientos	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Seely	Beggiani	Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary
	Daniel	Bell	Communitarian Network
	Rebecca	Bell	
	Christine Joseph	Benero Benero	Assoc. of Junior Leagues Intl. Assoc. of Junior Leagues
	Keith	Bernard	
	Steven	Berrent	
	Sidney	Blumenthal	The New Yorker
	Noel	Boxer	National Endowment for the Arts
	Robert	Brooks	The Episcopal Church
	Johanna	Calabria	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Pamela	Callaway	Resolution Trust Corporation
	Martha	Chowning	
	Karen	Christensen	National Endowment for the Arts
	Dylyce	Clark	Learning Center Development
	Michael	Clem	Superivor Photography for Goergetown
	Justin	Cohn	
	Jerry	Connors	
	Judith	Conover	League of Women Voters of the U.S.
	Greg	Cortes	The American Foundation

Melanie Allen
She said
not with copy
of materials, request
for their request
suggestions on form
agreement - BC

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Alyssa	Cotler	
	Bruce	Cox	AT&T
	Alexander	Crary	National Endowment for the Arts
	Dionne	Davies	
	Joseph	Day	Educational Media
	Rodham	Delk III	
	E.J.	Dionne	The Washington Post
	Michelle	Dobles	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	James	Doyle	
	Lisa	Duffy	
	Joe	Duffy	United States Information Agency
	James	Dunn	Baptist Joint Committee
	James	Early	Smithsonian Institution
	Steve	Eichenhower	Public Strategies Washington
	Jake	Erhard	
	Amitai	Etzioni	George Washington University
	Michael	Evans	Youth Service America
	Karine	Faden	
	Jerry	Fleming	
	Arthur	Fleming	
	Frank	Frasier	
	Amanda	Garzon	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Gail	Gay	Entrepreneurial Development Institute
	Bill	George	Georgetown University Government Relations
	Matthew	Gernstein	
	Richard	Goodstein	
	Frank	Greer	Frank Greer & Associates
	Sheldon	Hackney	National Endowment for the Humanities
	Sherry	Hayes	Protestant Health Alliance
	Robert	Healy	ARCO

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Theresa	Heinz	Board of Directors- National Service
	Sam	Heitner	Greer and Associates
	Chris	Hekimain	Armenian National Committee of America
	Glen	Hicks	
	Frank	Holleman	Department of Education
	Kathryn	Hutchins	
	Sandy	Ionno	Student Pugwash
	Jason	Isaacson	American Jewish Committee
	Gloria	Johnson	Americorps
	Judy	Johnston	
	Thomas Donnell	Jones Jones	Washington Area Habitat for Humanity Learning Center Development
	Jim	Joseph	Board of Directors
	Don	Karmelite	
	Patrick	Kelkar	
	Peter	Kelly	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly
	Penn	Kemble	USIA
	Elizabeth	Kim	
	Jake	Kuitwaard	Realtors
	Marijana	Kujundzic	
	Madeleine	Kunin	
	Ben Joyce	Ladner Ladner	American University Howard University
	Casimira	Lenard	Polish American Congress
	Matthew	Lentz	
	Mark	Levin	National Conf. On Soviet Jewry
	Daniel	Lipner	
	Meredith	Lloyd	
	Stephanie	Maddern	National Endowment for the Arts
	Charles	Manatt	

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Ken	Markowitz	
	John	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Susan	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Kimberly	Marteau	USIA
	Franz	Mazter	
	Gerald	McEntee	Board of Directors- National Service
	Robert	McGee	
	Vince	Meldrum	Youth Service America
	Sara	Melendez	Independent Sector
	Hassan	Minor, Jr.	Howard University
	Kenneth	Mireles	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Forest	Montgomery	National Association of Evangelicals
	Colleen	Montoya	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Natasha	Mullins	
	Dan	Nadash	
	Leo	O'Donovan	Georgetown University
	Tabitha	Orlando	
	Mitchell	Palmer	
	Scott	Pastrick	DNC
	Ada	Pena	LULAC
	Catherine	Pinkerton	NETWORK
	Molly	Raiser	Chief of Protocal - State Department
	Michael	Ralsky	
	Tracey	Rich	
	Malcolm	Richardson	President's Committeee on Arts and Humanities
	Richard	Riley	DOE
	Art	Roberts	
	Ginger	Romero	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Mark	Rosenman	The Union Institute

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Gerry	Salemme	
	David	Saperstein	Religious Action Center
	H. Bernard	Schroeder	
	Eli	Segal	Americorps
	Layla	Sein	The American Muslim Council Report
	David	Seldin	Communitarian Network
	Neal	Shenoy	
	Claudette	Shwiry	Arab American Institute
	Jennifer	Snyder	
	Alejandra Santiago	Solis Solis	
	Patrick Terry David	Straub Straub Straub	USX Corporation
	Kevin	Sullivan	Office of Secretary Richard Riley
	Bennie	Thayer	National Association of the Self Employed
	Lelie	Thornton	Department of Education
	Craig	Tilley	
	Paul	Tipton	Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
	Christina	Tovar	
	Rosie	Valadez	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Helen	Veit	
	Gaylin	Vogel	
	John	Walters	The New Citizenship Project
	Bonnie	Weinstein	Attorney-at-Law
	James	Wendorf	Reading Is Fundamental
	Leon	West	The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Anne	Wexler	
	Carol	Williams	Peace Links

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Carolyn Than	Young Young	DC Service Corps The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Timothy	Zayac	
IN	Les	LenKowsky	Board of Directors- National Service
MA	Ray	Hammond	Ten-Point Coalition
	John Lynn	Samaan Samaan	Boston Rescue Mission Boston Rescue Mission
	Samuel	Wood	10 Point Coalition
MD	Loleta	Bailey	Liberty Magazines
	Rhonda	Dorsey	MD Commission-National Service
	Bowyer	Freeman	Bread for the World
	Janet	Salmons	Magic ME
	Marilyn	Smith	Maryland's Governor Commission on Service
	Sid	Swartz	Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership & Values
NY	Janet	Dutrey	Resolving Conflict Creatively Program National Center
	Richard	Green	The Crown Heights Youth Collective
	Michael	Lerner	Tikkun Magazine
	Wesley	Michaelson	Reformed Church in America
	Orlando	Rivera	South Bronx High School
	Joeseeph	Scelsa	The John D. Calandra Italian Amer. Instit.
	Mort Robert Debrah	Sherman Sherman Sherman	South Orangetown Central School District The Surdne Foundation
	Paola	Vita	Rebels With A Cause
PA	Don	Eberly	National Fatherhood Initiative
TX	Margarita	Valdez	
VA	Eileen	Bakke	Mustard Seed Foundation
	Ron	Brandt	Association for Supervision & Curriculum Develp.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
VA	Mimi	Carter	Thomas Jefferson Middle School
	John	Castelli	
	Peter	Edman	The Trinity Forum
	Janie	Gilmore	Educational Media Development
	Darrell	Green	Washington Redskins
	Os	Guinness	The Trinity Forum
	Natalie	Holmes	American Association of School Administration
	John	Lauber	The Trinity Forum
	T. David	Legg	The Trinity Forum
VT	Matthew	Kireker	
	Charles	Kireker	Twin Birches
	Bennett	Kireker	
	Marie	Kireker	Vermont School Board

Count: 189

Original NSC memo and all unsigned letters are being held in Staff Secretary's Office.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3284

7-6-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1995 95 JUN 30 P1:21

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN
CAROL RASCO

SUBJECT:

Letters on Abusive Family Planning Practices in China

Purpose

To respond to letters received from Representatives Armey, Solomon and Vucanovich, as well as from Archbishop Mahony of Los Angeles.

Background

You have received letters from Representatives Armey, Solomon, and Vucanovich expressing opposition to repatriation of asylum seekers who claim they have fled coercive population control policies in China. The three letters have 19 congressional co-signers, including Reps. Hyde and Livingston. You also received a similar letter from Cardinal Roger Mahony, the Archbishop of Los Angeles.

Abusive Family Planning Practices and Asylum

Abusive family planning practices in China are usually practices of general application and are not normally directed at individuals because of their political beliefs, religion or other criteria for asylum. This means that those who have been victims of abusive family planning and merit humanitarian protection from return to China might not, as a matter of law, be granted asylum.

For this reason, last year you directed the Justice Department to provide additional humanitarian protection -- outside the asylum context -- for those applicants who have suffered severe mistreatment related to abusive family planning practices or who, based on difficulties they have encountered in the past, have credible fears of return to abusive family planning practices.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Letter - submitted
PQ

BS
Lives
Why don't
we say this
is a not being

The Current Case and Proposed Letter of Response

We received the four attached letters following reports that the INS intended to deport some 15-20 Chinese women who had been denied asylum recently.

Each suggested response first describes your policy on humanitarian protection of those who fear return to abusive family planning practices. It then indicates that you are referring the letter to the Justice Department with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of your guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

INS Action on the Current Case

For your information, INS is already conducting a special review of the particular cases raised in the letters from the Representatives and the Archbishop. We believe, however, that any description of that review should come from the agency itself and not from your office.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Representatives and Cardinal Roger Mahony
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Richard K. Armey
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4326

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Baker:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bill Baker
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1806

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thomas J. Bliley, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4607

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Bunning:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jim Bunning
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1704

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Chabot:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Steve Chabot
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4708

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Crane:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Philip M. Crane
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1308

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Diaz-Balart:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Lincoln Diaz-Balart
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-3519

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Duncan:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John J. Duncan, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0532

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Eni:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Eni F. H. Faleomavaega
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0544

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Hastert:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable J. Dennis Hastert
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1314

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Hoekstra:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Peter Hoekstra
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4403

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1306

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Inglis:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bob Inglis
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4004

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dale:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dale E. Kildee
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1409

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bob Livingston
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4203

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative McDade:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Joseph M. McDade
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2213

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mike:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Michael R. McNulty
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0605

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Glenn:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Glenn Poshard
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2505

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Rohrabacher:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dana Rohrabacher
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1608

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Ros-Lehtinen:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0304

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Sensenbrenner:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-4909

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Smith:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Christopher H. Smith
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-3810

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Smith:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Linda Smith
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2506

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald B. H. Solomon
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-1703

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Stockman:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Steve Stockman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-3010

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bart:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bart Stupak
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2201

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Tiahrt:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Todd Tiahrt
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2202

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Vucanovich:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Barbara F. Vucanovich
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2802

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Waldholtz:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Enid G. Waldholtz
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-3808

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Wamp:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

Let me also emphasize that Chinese in the United States have access to our asylum process, which provides protection from return to those who have well-founded fears of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. As you may know, I have also directed that protection from return be provided to applicants who do not meet the legal requirements for asylum but who have suffered or, due to prior difficulties they have encountered, are likely to suffer severe mistreatment due to abusive family planning practices in their country of origin.

This policy guidance is designed to address the very concerns you expressed in your letter.

Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Zach Wamp
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2004

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Cardinal Mahony:

Thank you for your letter regarding abusive family planning practices in China.

First, let me assure you that we deplore forced abortion, involuntary sterilization and other abusive family planning practices that have been applied in parts of China. This issue is a regular and important subject of our discussions with Chinese officials.

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Finally, I am forwarding your letter to the Department of Justice with a request that the Department take any further action that might be necessary to ensure application of the guidance in cases where abusive family planning practices may be at issue.

Sincerely,

Cardinal Roger Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles
Chairman
Committee for Pro-Life Activities
National Conference of Catholic Bishops
3211 Fourth Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017-1194



Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities

3211 Fourth Street, N.E. Washington, DC 20017 1191 (202) 541-3070 FAX (202) 541-3054 TELEX 7400424

April 20, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I appeal to you because of the urgent need for humanitarian intervention to prevent violations of basic human rights.

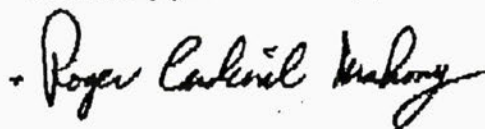
For 21 months, since their ship Golden Venture ran aground near New York City, more than 250 Chinese refugees have fled their country's policy of forced sterilization and coerced abortion, many of whom have been incarcerated in the United States while their legal status was reviewed and debated. They have endured adverse and unhealthy conditions in our country, with little regard for their legal rights. I am informed that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has now transferred more than a dozen women to Bakersfield, California to prepare them for immediate deportation, which could occur as early as Monday, April 24.

Many of these women have undergone coerced sterilizations or abortions at their government's hands in the past; they face the likelihood of severe punishment upon their return. It is our strong belief that these women are being denied their right to have children. Denial of that right should constitute grounds for asserting refugee status on the basis of political opinion or religion.

Certain members of Congress have become aware of this terrible situation only in the last few days; and timely congressional action is rendered impossible by the current recess. The Immigration and Naturalization Service's move toward immediate deportation occurs at a time when these refugees will be deprived of a possible avenue of Congressional relief. Recent reports by Amnesty International also suggest that Catholic villagers in some provinces are singled out for particularly cruel harassment and even torture for "causing problems" with implementation of the mandatory one-child-per-family policy. These circumstances make your own timely intervention all the more indispensable, if the possibility for justice is to remain open to these helpless women.

Mr. President, no "crime" has been committed by these women except that of loving their children. The real crime is committed by a nation that would punish and persecute them for their beliefs. A nation that deliberately sends them back to face such persecution must share some guilt for the harm done to them. Before an irreversible injustice is done, I urge you to intervene with the Immigration and Naturalization Service to halt deportation pending resolution by federal courts and Congress of the question of refugee status for those who flee China's coercive family planning policy.

Fraternally yours in Christ,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Roger Cardinal Mahony". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Cardinal Roger Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles
Chairman
Committee for Pro-Life Activities
National Conference of Catholic Bishops



Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities

3211 Fourth Street, N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3070 FAX (202) 541-3054 TELEX 7400421

April 21, 1995

VIA FAX

Melanne Veveer
Policy Advisor to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

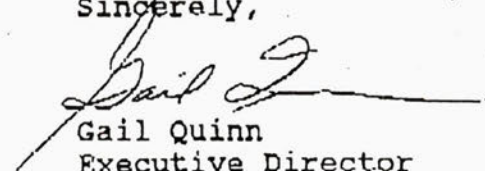
Dear Ms. Veveer:

Attached is a letter concerning the fate of 13 Chinese women who sought asylum here because of their country's coercive population program. Cardinal Roger Mahony, Archbishop of Los Angeles, has written to President Clinton, asking the President to halt the deportations, which are slated to take place as early as Monday, April 24.

Nancy Wisdo, Director of Domestic Social Development for the Catholic Bishops' Conference, has suggested I send the attached letter to you, in the hope that you will be able to help bring this matter to the attention of the President.

Thank you for whatever assistance you may be able to provide.

Sincerely,


Gail Quinn
Executive Director

CQ:mng

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW SENS

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Representative Dick Armey (R-TX) and others, concerning asylum seekers from the People's Republic of China.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Jocelyn Jolley at x67500.

Enclosure

3314
3284

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

April 28, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We respectfully request that you intervene to prevent the forced repatriation of asylum seekers from the People's Republic of China (PRC) who face persecution for resistance to the PRC coercive population control policy. We are particularly concerned about the fate of women who may be, or who have been, subjected to forced abortions.

On the morning of April 14 (Good Friday) a number of Chinese women who have been detained for almost two years in Louisiana and Mississippi were transferred to Bakersfield, California, apparently in preparation for imminent forcible return to China. These women include five who fled China after having been forced to undergo abortions, and several others who have been forcibly sterilized.

In most cases these women's asylum claims appear to have been rejected not because they did not submit credible evidence of a well-founded fear of being forced to submit to abortion or sterilization --- or, in some cases, evidence that they have already been subjected to such procedures --- but solely because of the Administration's policy of denying asylum to applicants whose claims are based on forced abortion and forced sterilization.

We strongly request that you reconsider, or at least postpone, any deportation to China of asylum seekers whose claims are based on forced abortion, forced sterilization, or other harsh punishment for resistance to the PRC population control program. We believe such a postponement to be warranted for several reasons.

Forced abortion, forced sterilization, and other severe punishments inflicted on resisters to the PRC program are persecution on account of political opinion. PRC officials have repeatedly attacked resisters as political and ideological criminals. The infliction of extraordinarily harsh punishment is also generally regarded as evidence that those who inflict such punishment regard the offenders not as ordinary lawbreakers but as enemies of the state.

Forced abortions often take place in the very late stages of pregnancy. Sometimes

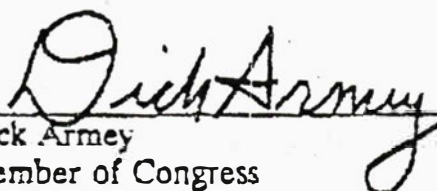
the procedure is carried out during the process of birth itself, either by crushing the baby's skull with forceps as it emerges from the womb or by injecting formaldehyde into the soft spot of the head.

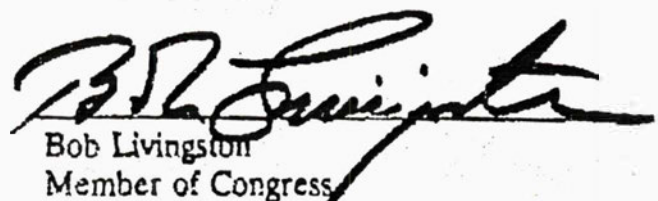
Especially harsh punishments have been inflicted on persons whose resistance is motivated by religion. According to a recent Amnesty International report, enforcement measures in two overwhelmingly Catholic villages in northern China have included torture, sexual abuse, and the detention of resisters' relatives as hostages to compel compliance. The campaign is reported to have been conducted under the slogan "better to have more graves than more than one child."

Finally, there are persistent reports that the PRC regime imposes harsh punishment --- including extended imprisonment in "re-education camps," hard labor, beatings, and fines amounting to several times the average per capita income --- on returned asylum seekers merely for having escaped from China. We have requested detailed information from the State Department on how many returned asylum seekers are currently in prison, and on the nature and scope of any efforts the United States has taken to monitor their treatment upon return. No further deportations to the PRC should take place until it is clear that returnees are not being mistreated, and that monitoring efforts are adequate to detect any mistreatment.

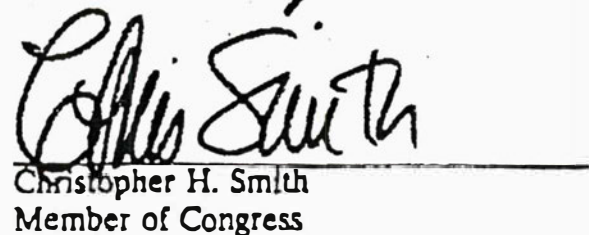
We expect that Congress will soon consider legislation to make it clear that asylum seekers who can prove a well founded fear of forced abortion or forced sterilization are eligible for asylum. As you may know, such legislation passed both houses of Congress by overwhelming margins in 1989. A similar provision was passed by the Senate last year as an amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. The present Congress has not yet had an opportunity to consider this issue, but we expect to have such an opportunity soon after our return from the April recess. We hope that no action will be taken against these women or other similarly situated claimants until Congress has had a fair chance to consider and decide the question of their eligibility for asylum.

Sincerely,


Dick Armey
Member of Congress


Bob Livingston
Member of Congress


Henry Hyde
Member of Congress


Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress

Bill Baker

Bill Baker
Member of Congress

Phil Crane

Philip M. Crane
Member of Congress

Peter Hoekstra

Peter Hoekstra
Member of Congress

Steve Chabot

Steve Chabot
Member of Congress

Bob Inglis

Bob Inglis
Member of Congress

J. Dennis Hastert

J. Dennis Hastert
Member of Congress

Glenn Poshard

Glenn Poshard
Member of Congress

Joseph M. McDade

Joseph M. McDade
Member of Congress

Dale E. Kildee

Dale E. Kildee
Member of Congress

Bart Stupak

Bart Stupak
Member of Congress

Todd Tiahrt

Todd Tiahrt
Member of Congress

Thomas J. Bliley, Jr.

Thomas J. Bliley, Jr.
Member of Congress

Zack Wamp

Zack Wamp
Member of Congress

Dana Rohrabacher

Dana Rohrabacher
Member of Congress

Steve Stockman
Steve Stockman
Member of Congress

Jim Sensenbrenner
F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr.
Member of Congress

John J. Duncan, Jr.
John J. Duncan, Jr.
Member of Congress

Eni F. H. Faleomavaega
Eni F. H. Faleomavaega
Member of Congress

Heena Ros-Lehtinen
Heena Ros-Lehtinen
Member of Congress

Linda Diaz-Balart
Linda Diaz-Balart
Member of Congress

Michael R. McNulty
Michael R. McNulty
Member of Congress

Jim Bunning
Jim Bunning
Member of Congress

GERALD B. SOLOMON

MEMBER OF CONGRESS
22D DISTRICT, NEW YORK
ROOM 2206 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3222
(202) 225-5814

MEMBER
HOUSE TASK FORCE ON AMERICAN
PRISONERS OF WAR AND
MISSING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

5201 540
RULES COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN

MEMBER
HOUSE TASK FORCE ON
CHILD CARE, DRUGS,
EDUCATION AND THE ELDERLY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3222

April 21, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you today to express in the strongest possible terms my opposition to the forced and ongoing repatriation of Chinese refugees (especially those from the Golden Venture ship) who have fled their native land because of their opposition to the Chinese government's brutal population-control policies.

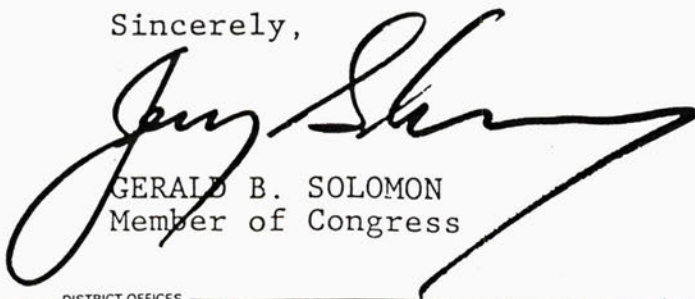
Aside from the fact that the repatriation of such refugees represents a reversal of longstanding U.S. policy, it also flies in the face of your own oft-expressed desire to see the practice of abortion here in America be made "safe, legal, and rare."

I must ask you, sir, about what kind of message is being sent to the American people when our government decides, at least implicitly, that China's population-control policies are not unacceptable. There is little we can do directly to change what happens inside China itself, but we can and we must provide asylum for those brave people who are able to get out.

Our government does not hesitate to stigmatize (or even to regulate) any number of personal practices and behavioral habits that are deemed unhealthy or unsafe to the common good here in America. Why the silence on abortion? Especially if you believe that the practice of abortion should be "rare"?

If our government cannot take even a minimal stand on the question of population-control practices that are as brutal and coercive as those in China, what are the American people to think? Thomas Jefferson said he knew only "one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively." Why the double-standard today?

Sincerely,


GERALD B. SOLOMON
Member of Congress

DISTRICT OFFICES

GASLIGHT SQUARE
SARATOGA SPRINGS, NY 12866
518-587-9800

RENSSELAER COUNTY
518-477-2703

P.O. Box 71
RHINEBECK, NY 12572
914-876-2200

337 FAIRVIEW AVENUE
HUDSON, NY 12534
518-828-0181

21 BAY STREET
GLENS FALLS, NY 12801
518-792-3031

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

April 21, 1995

President Clinton
The White House
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

We have recently learned about a group of Chinese women who are fleeing the forced abortion, forced sterilization, and other harsh treatment imposed under the PRC population control program.

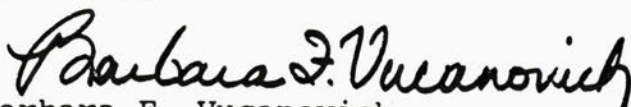
We are deeply concerned that the women's petition for asylum was rejected not because they offer no conclusive evidence of such mistreatment -- indeed many of them bear the scars of forced abortion and sterilization -- but because the present Administration policy denies asylum to applicants whose claims are based on fleeing forced abortion and forced sterilization policy.

This is a reversal of longstanding U.S. policy. Three immediate former Attorneys General officially ordered that immigrants fleeing such policies be given protection under the asylum law. It is disturbing that this Administration has chosen to ignore this precedent, especially when the protections given to coercive population victims -- including women who have suffered the unspeakable abuse of forced abortions -- has received broad based bi-partisan support in Congress.

We strongly urge you to postpone and reconsider any deportation to China of the asylum seekers whose claims are based on resistance to the PRC population control program. It is expected that Congress will soon consider legislation that will provide asylum for those asylum seekers who can prove that they have been or will be persecuted by enforcement of the PRC population control program.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,


Barbara F. Vucanovich
Member of Congress


Enid G. Walcott
Member of Congress


Linda Smith
Member of Congress

35 APR 23 PM 10

cc
Zee
OK
me

①
Send his niece a
nice congratulatory
letter on her graduation and
her speech -
cc: Lincoln
of Quinlan
of feeling
of Jack
Gilm

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

Thomas J. Schneider
Restructuring Associates Incorporated
Suite 350
1050 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Tom:

Thanks for your letter of June 23. It was good to hear from you and to have your insight and suggestions, especially your thoughts about science and technology.

Thanks, too, for sending the speech your niece gave at her graduation. I appreciate your sharing it with me, and I look forward to having a chance to read it.

See you on the 13th!

Sincerely,

Bill Good ideas!

cc: of all
Haved
Jack Quinn
Jack Rabbons

RESTRUCTURING ASSOCIATES INC.

SUITE 350

1050 SEVENTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

(202) 775-8213

FAX: (202) 223-0346

cc
Hush

June 23, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

I am struck by how the Republicans can flip-flop their positions and say anything and get away with it. At the same time I think you and the Democrats need to be able to specifically identify the contradictions and flip-flops.

If you have not already done this, you should have the DNC and staff do a thorough literature search of the past speeches, statements to the press, and the like of all of the leading Republicans concerning key issues such as the deficit. For example, if you recall, during the 1980's most of the Republicans argued that the deficit was not a problem. In 1993 they argued that your deficit reduction proposal would destroy the economy.

The American people may be cynical about politicians and Washington, D.C., but specific evidence of contradictory statements is a powerful device to disarm, to put on the defensive, or to undermine the credibility of an individual. In the best case they would at least have to explain themselves.

* { One other proposal. In September 1992, your campaign issued a position statement on science and technology. It was extremely well received, and coincided with a turning point in the campaign. As your 1992 campaign science and technology policy advisor, I can testify that the position statement produced a high level of enthusiasm in a important segment of our economy.

HA { In September 1995, on the anniversary of the policy statement, you should release a scorecard assessing what you have done to fulfill your campaign pledges. Although not everything has been achieved, you have done extremely well. You might also consider using a similar scorecard for other campaign pledges, such as for small business (corresponding to your Clinton, Maryland speech in 1992).

President Clinton
June 23, 1995
Page 2

✓ ~~The pension reform simplification for small business~~ was brilliant. These changes will increase the number of people with retirement savings.

Your budget proposal was excellent. The reaction of the Democrats on the Hill is embarrassing. I greatly appreciate your courage and leadership.

I have also enclosed a speech that my 18 year old niece, Ann Schneider, gave to her high school graduating class in East Grand Rapids, Michigan. Despite having Republican parents (my brother and sister-in-law) she supports you. I send the speech because I found it so powerful and moving. With people like her there is hope for the future.

[Finally, we are looking forward to your fund-raising dinner at our house on July 13. Hopefully it will be stimulating for you rather than the typically events.

Yours sincerely,



Thomas J. Schneider

Enclosure

Recently, my mother commented she thought it a shame that this year's graduation falls on Memorial Day weekend. "With all the natural excitement about graduation and the senior party, I'm afraid the meaning of Memorial Day is forgotten." Not so long ago, high school graduates faced the draft, even active war, on the day they graduated. But not today.

As I walked off to consider her observation, I realized she was right. Memorial Day had never had much of an impact on me. It seemed a commercial holiday, an excuse for stores to have sales, a day off from school. Although I was aware that many people had given their lives defending our country, they were just names to me, pictures in magazines. As I continued to think about it, memories of family trips to war memorials came to mind. Just then I recognized the true challenge lying before graduating seniors and discovered a link between graduation and Memorial Day.

Eight years ago we were in Arlington Cemetery, looking at the statue of the men raising the American flag. Although my brother, sister, and I were impatient to move on, my mother wouldn't budge. Gazing at the statue, she mused, "My father was a marine on the island of Iwo Jima

where this flag raising really happened after a long and very difficult battle. I've just realized what a truly noble and dignified person he is. In all the time I've known him, he's never talked about his war experiences unless we inquired about them. He never said he wished he had not had to go. He never sought glory for having gone."

Only recently, her words hit home.

A few years later we visited the Vietnam War Memorial. I was walking down the path, looking at all the engravings, when I noticed that my mother wasn't with ^{me} ~~us~~. I turned around and saw her perusing the wall, obviously searching for a name. When she found the right section, she stopped and continued looking. As I walked back to join her, she reached out and touched the wall, running her fingers over one specific name. It didn't look familiar, so I asked her who he was. She responded that he had been a classmate of hers. Immediately after graduating from high school, he went into the service, left for Vietnam, and died in the war. She said, "I wanted him to know that he did not give up his life in vain. I told him I would live my life and raise my children to think of others and to try to make this world a better place."

The letters engraved on the wall are no longer only words to me. They now represent people, men and women who sacrificed their dreams and their lives so that we could enjoy the freedom to pursue our aspirations. I understand my parents' strong sense of patriotism, and their belief that we should work to the best of our abilities. I finally recognize the reason why we ~~had~~ ^{numerous} visited ~~so many~~ memorials in various cities: my parents wanted me to appreciate all that so many had given up and the influence these people have wrought on our lives.

We, the class of 1995, have our future spread out before us. We don't have to worry about being drafted immediately after graduating from high school. We don't have to worry about fighting in a war before having a chance to pursue our ambitions. We can make dreams, however incomplete and far fetched they now seem. We can change those dreams as we pass through the next stage of our lives. Unlike our parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, all who lived through and perhaps participated in a major war, the cost of such freedom is not so high for us. For those who gave up their future, their freedom, their lives, the cost was substantial. It is all too often that we take the peace they gave us

for granted.

As graduating seniors on this Memorial Day weekend, it is our duty to remember and fully appreciate the freedoms that were won with the lives of men and women not much older than we are today. The challenge facing each of us as we enter the world beyond high school is to study, work, and play to the best of our abilities. We should live our lives in such a manner that at any time we ~~may~~ find ourselves in front of a war memorial, we can honestly and sincerely say, as my mother did, "You did not die in vain. You sacrificed so that we might have the chance to pursue our dreams and aspirations. As we live our lives, we will think of others and work to make this world a better place. We will not forget."